

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 07926 01 OF 03 061830Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 CU-02 TRSE-00 IO-13 EB-07 AID-05 OMB-01
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P R 061807Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8084
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 07926

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE: FRG PAPER ON NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS AS A
POSSIBLE SUBJECT AT BELGRADE

1. FONOFF CSCE DIRECTOR JOETZE PASSED TO US THE GERMAN
PAPER ON THE SUBJECT OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS AS THEY
RELATE TO BELGRADE) WHICH WAS TABLED AT THE NINE'S CSCE
WORKING GROUP MEETING IN LONDON ON MAY 2-4. THIS IS THE
PAPER UPON WHICH FRG PERMREP PAULS BASED HIS SPEAKING
NOTES (USNATO 02735--NOTAL).

2. JOETZE SAID THAT IN PRESENTING ITS PAPER THE
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PAGE 02 BONN 07926 01 OF 03 061830Z

FRG HAD EMPHASIZED THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH ISSUE WILL BE
ADDRESSED IN ANY EVENT AT BELGRADE AND THEREFORE THE
WEST MUST BE PREPARED. THE CHOICE WAS TO TAKE THE
INITIATIVE AND THEREBY HAVE SOME INFLUENCE ON STEERING
THE DISCUSSION OR MERELY REACT TO ANOTHER STATE'S
INITIATIVE.

3. JOETZE SAID THE CONSENSUS AMONG THE NINE WAS TO INFORM THE OTHER ALLIES QUICKLY AND TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM IN DEVELOPING WESTERN TACTICS. JOETZE SAID AGREEMENT MUST BE REACHED WHETHER THE WEST ADOPTS AN OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE APPROACH. JOETZE ALSO SAID THAT THE FRG PRESENTATION HAD ENCOUNTERED A "CERTAIN SKEPTICISM" AMONG THE NINE, PARTICULARLY THE FRENCH.

4. COMMENT: AS WE HAVE INDICATED PREVIOUSLY, SENIOR FRG OFFICIALS HAVE ALREADY SPOKEN OUT IN FAVOR OF INCLUDING A DISCUSSION OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES AT BELGRADE (BONN 07472). IT IS EVIDENT THAT FONOFF WORKING LEVEL OFFICIALS ARE NOW TRYING TO IMPLEMENT THAT DECISION, AND THAT THE FRG WILL BE IN THE FOREFRONT OF THOSE WESTERN STATES ADVOCATING A POSITIVE INITIATIVE AT BELGRADE ON THIS SUBJECT. THE GERMANS WOULD BE INTERESTED IN HAVING A PRELIMINARY REACTION FROM WASHINGTON. END COMMENT.

BEGIN TEXT:

"NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS AS A POSSIBLE SUBJECT AT BELGRADE--

1. IT IS AN ACCEPTED AIM OF THE NINE TO WORK FOR A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND TO ENLARGE THE NUMBER OF COUNTRIES ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THIS WORK. IT IS TO BE EXAMINED WHETHER THE BELGRADE MEETING IS A SUITABLE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 BONN 07926 01 OF 03 061830Z

PLACE TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION.

THE MAIN ADVANTAGE OF INTRODUCING THE NORTH-SOUTH ISSUE AT THE BELGRADE MEETING COULD BE SEEN IN ITS COMPOSITION. FOR ONCE, THE WEST WOULD NOT BE IN A POSITION OF HOPELESS NUMERICAL MINORITY. ALSO, AT BELGRADE, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE EAST TO PLAY THEIR USUAL GAME OF SUPPORTING THE THIRD WORLD'S POSITIONS VERBALLY. A DISADVANTAGE MIGHT BE SEEN IN A POSSIBLE AGGRAVATION OF THE CONFERENCE CLIMATE. HOWEVER, AS THE ISSUE WILL BE ON THE AGENDA ANYWAY (CF PARA 2) IT MIGHT BE TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE WEST TO TAKE SOME INITIATIVE IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE THE DEBATE FROM THE START.

2. THE SUBJECT OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS WILL BE INTRODUCED INTO DISCUSSION AT THE BELGRADE MAIN MEETING BY THIRD COUNTRIES, NOTABLY ROMANIA, WHOSE PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU ANNOUNCED, IN HIS SPEECH ON MARCH 29, 1977, THE INTENTION TO PUT THE QUESTION OF A SO-CALLED (NEW

ECONOMIC ORDER) ON THE AGENDA OF BELGRADE. OTHER COUNTRIES CAN BE EXPECTED TO SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE.

3. ALTHOUGH THIS IS NOT THE APPROACH OF THE WEST TOWARD THE QUESTION OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS, THIS

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PAGE 01 BONN 07926 02 OF 03 061838Z
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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 BONN 07926

COULD GIVE RISE TO A DISCUSSION IN WHICH THE NINE WOULD HAVE TO MAKE THEIR OWN POSITION KNOWN.

THE NINE WILL AT ANY RATE HAVE TO -- PREPARE -- THEMSELVES FOR A DISCUSSION WHICH SEEMS HARDLY AVOIDABLE. FURTHERMORE, WE SHOULD EXAMINE TO WHAT EXTENT WE SHOULD TAKE AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE SUBJECT, WHICH ASPECTS WE WANT TO STRESS (AND WHICH ONES WE WOULD LIKE TO

AVOID), WHICH PLACE AND WHICH PROMINENCE THESE QUESTIONS
SHOULD ASSUME AT THE BELGRADE MEETING, IN PARTICULAR
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PAGE 02 BONN 07926 02 OF 03 061838Z

WHETHER THE NINE SHOULD SEEK FOR AN OVERALL POLITICAL
DISCUSSION, OR FOR CONCRETE OPERATIONAL RESULTS (SUCH AS
SPECIFIC RESOLUTIONS, OR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EXPERT
GROUP, OR A REFERENCE TO OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGAN-
IZATIONS).

4. THE FOLLOWING IS AN ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF POINTS
WHICH COULD BE RAISED IN THAT CONTEXT:

(I) FOSTERING COOPERATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
IS A PLEDGE ENTERED INTO BY THE PARTICIPANTS TO CSCE
(C.F. PRINCIPLE IX, SECOND PARA, AND PREAMBLE OF THE
SECOND BASKET).

(II) THE NINE COULD RECALL THEIR OWN CONSTRUCTIVE
ROLE IN THIS FIELD. THIS ATTITUDE IS DOCUMENTED IN ALL
NEGOTIATIONS CURRENTLY AT THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA SUCH
AS CIEC AND UNCTAD. IT HAS BEEN THEIR CONSTANT
ATTITUDE TO COOPERATE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY RATHER THAN
CONCENTRATE ON PROPAGANDA. THE NINE HAVE CONFIRMED THIS
COURSE BY THEIR TREATIES WITH SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN
COUNTRIES.

(III) AID FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS THE COMMON
RESPONSIBILITY OF INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. PROBLEMS
ARISING FROM THE RELATION BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH SHOULD
NOT BE EXPLOITED TO GAIN UNDUE INTERNATIONAL ADVANTAGES.
SUCH A COURSE WOULD IN THE LONG RUN GIVE ROOM FOR
DOUBTS ABOUT THE CREDIBILITY OF DETENTE WHICH IS A
GLOBAL CONCEPT, NOT RESTRICTED TO EUROPE.

(IV) FOR THESE REASONS, A REASONABLE SHARE OF AID

SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND, AS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 07926 02 OF 03 061838Z

A GENERAL RULE, SHOULD NOT BE GIVEN EXCLUSIVELY ACCORDING
TO CRITERIA OF PURE POWER POLITICS. AND THERE SHOULD BE
A REASONABLE RELATION BETWEEN AID IN THE ECONOMIC AND
OTHER SECTORS, AND ARMAMENT EXPORTS.

(V) IN 1975, WESTERN AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WAS THIRTY TIMES HIGHER THAN THAT OF WP COUNTRIES. COMPARED TO GNP, IT IS TEN TIMES HIGHER. THE NINE HAVE ESTABLISHED BY THE TREATY OF LOME THE FIRST MODEL STABILIZING EXPORT EARNINGS OF RAW MATERIALS. IN GENERAL WE HAVE CONSTANTLY WORKED TOWARDS A WIDER OPENING OF OUR MARKETS FOR EXPORT OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND FOR AUGMENTING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF IMF AND IDA FACILITIES FOR FINANCING FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

5. DETAILS CONCERNING THE POINTS LISTED ABOVE MIGHT BE STUDIED BY THE BRUSSELS AD HOC GROUP. IN ADDITION, THIS GROUP MIGHT FIND IT USEFUL TO STUDY, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT OUR ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND CONSEQUENCES IN THIS FIELD, THE QUESTIONS RELATED TO THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN INSTITUTIONS OF NORTH-SOUTH COOPERATION. WHILE SOVIET PRESENCE IN INSTITUTIONS LIKE IMF,IBRD IS NOT ADVISABLE (AND NOT SOUGHT BY THE SOVIET UNION), THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT BE A NECESSARY PARTNER IN SOME OF THE COMMODITY AGREEMENTS WHICH MIGHT EVENTUALLY BE CONCLUDED. SO FAR THEY HAVE REFUSED THE IDEA OF FINANCING BUFFER STOCKS. THEY WANT TO LIMIT THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS, IF ANY, TO VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. ON THE CONTRARY, SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN AN ONGOING ENERGY DIALOGUE AFTER THE END OF CIEC IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE NINE.

SOME THOUGHT MIGHT ALSO BE GIVEN TO THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AS AN IMPORTANT IMPORTER OF FOODSTUFFS. IT IS NOT A MEMBER OF FAO, NOR HAS IT SIGNED THE 'INTERNATIONAL UNDERTAKING ON WORLD
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PAGE 04 BONN 07926 02 OF 03 061838Z

FOOD SECURITY'. OTHER POSSIBLE POINTS IN THIS CONNECTION ARE, E.G., THE TOTAL ABSENCE OF THE WP FROM COOPERATION AND FINANCING OF THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT (IFAD), THE RELATIVELY MODEST CONTRIBUTION OF WP-COUNTRIES TO UNDP AND TO AD HOC SPECIAL ACTIONS OF

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PAGE 01 BONN 07926 03 OF 03 061836Z
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 BONN 07926

THE UNITED NATIONS IN FAVOR OF CERTAIN DEVELOPING COUN-
TRIES SUCH AS THE EMERGENCY ACTION FOR MSAC'S 1974-L975.

6. IF THE NINE TAKE UP THOSE POINTS AT BELGRADE, THEY
PURSUE AN ACTUAL POLITICAL ISSUE. THEY THEREFORE SHOULD
BE INTERESTED TO AVOID GENERALITIES. HOWEVER, SHOULD THE
WP-COUNTRIES REPEAT THEIR CLAIMS TO BE EXEMPT FROM
RESPONSIBILITY FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AS THIS RESPON-
SIBILITY LIES WITH FORMER COLONIAL AND OTHER CAPITALIST
COUNTRIES, THEY SHOULD BE TOLD THAT FOSTERING COOPER-
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BONN 07926 03 OF 03 061836Z

ATION WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IS ALSO A QUESTION OF
IMPLEMENTING THE FINAL ACT (PRINCIPLE IX SECOND PARA
AND PREAMBLE TO BASKET II, THE NINE MIGHT ADD THAT
THIS IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH DOES NOT CONTRIBUTE ANYTHING
TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS, AND THAT
DETENTE (WHICH IS GLOBAL) REQUIRES GLOBAL COOPERATION
WHEREVER IT IS NEEDED, AND NOT JUST UNILATERAL EXPLOI-
TATION OF WHATEVER CHANCE SUCH PROBLEMS OFFER FOR ONE

SIDE. FURTHERMORE, IT COULD BE RECALLED THAT THESE ARGUMENTS ARE FALLACIOUS IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC HISTORY, AND COMMON SENSE. FOR IT WOULD BE ONLY LOGICAL FOR COMMUNIST COUNTRIES TO REFUSE CREDITS FROM CAPITALIST COUNTRIES WHICH IN REALITY THEY ARE AVIDLY SEEKING. IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC HISTORY, ALL EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ONCE BELONGED TO THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

7. THE NINE SHOULD DECIDE AT A LATER TIME IN THE LIGHT OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE DAY, WHETHER ALL OF THESE POINTS SHOULD BE RAISED, OR ONLY THE MORE GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS. THE QUESTION WHETHER THIS DISCUSSION WILL AGGRAVATE TENSIONS AT THE BELGRADE MEETING TO A DEGREE DANGEROUS FOR ITS SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION, AND HOW THIS COULD BE AVOIDED, WILL EVIDENTLY PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THESE DELIBERATIONS. IT ALSO REMAINS TO BE SEEN, IN WHAT PLACE WITHIN THE CONFERENCE THESE POINTS SHOULD BE MENTIONED. THIS COULD BE DONE IN THE OPENING STATEMENTS, WITHIN THE FIRST COMMISSION (BECAUSE OF PRINCIPLE IX), IN THE SECOND COMMISSION AND/OR IN A WORKING GROUP ON THE MEDITERRANEAN. A FURTHER TACTICAL CHOICE TO MAKE IS (THAT ON) HOW TO PURSUE THESE POINTS FURTHER. IN THIS CONNECTION WE COULD CONTENT OURSELVES TO DISCUSS THEM IN THE BODIES MENTIONED ABOVE, OR WE COULD MAKE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS SUCH AS CONVENING OF AN EXPERT GROUP DEALING WITH THESE PROBLEMS, OR TO REFER IT TO A BODY LIKE ECE OR THE LIKE."

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 BONN 07926 03 OF 03 061836Z

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Message Attributes

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